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**A TRUE PICTURE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.**

THE SECOND EDITION.

IN WHICH
"OIL WITHOUT VINEGAR"

IS
ANALYZED, AND PROVED

TO BE
RANCID.

BY A BRITISH SUBJECT.

Oh freedom, freedom, how I hate thy cant!
Not Eastern bombast, or the savage rant
Of purpled madmen, were they number'd all,
From Roman Nero, down to Russian Paul,
Could grate upon mine ear so mean, so base,
As the rank jargon of this factious race;
Who, poor of hearts, and prodigal of words,
Earn to be slaves, and struggling to be lords;

Who pant for licence, while they spurn controul,
And shout for rights with rapine in their soul,
Who can with patience for a moment see
This medley mass of pride and misery!
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slavish blacks and democratic whites;
And all the pye-bald poltry that reigns
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains! MOORE.

London:

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1807.

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PREFACE

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE printing a second edition enables me to add a few observations on a pamphlet just published, which, from the weakness of its arguments, adds to the proofs already given of American hostility, many more of American weakness ; for this is the language of the great majority of Americans. They think a defeat of this country a natural consequence of war ? The result will prove how miserably they deceive themselves.

I am sorry to have incurred the censure of that respectable publication, the " Monthly Review."— In its critique on the first edition, I am charged with endeavouring " to write the nation up to war." This is a charge I deny ; and still aver that my representations of the hostile dispositions of that country have not been in the least exaggerated or untrue, and of course ought not to be withheld from the Public.

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THE PREFACE.

NO apology at this time is deemed necessary for an intrusion of the following statement on the public attention. The sentiments it contains render one needless ; the execution of it will claim forbearance. The reason of this is the haste with which it has been compiled. For the writer to say he is not an author by profession is needless—the work itself will speak the fact. The only merit it can have, will be its intention and object. When these are considered, he flatters himself the execution will be overlooked.

HE cannot dismiss the subject without saying, that he is fearful he may be charged with intemperance; nay, some may say, with intemperance equal to American. His language may be warm, but, consistently with the opinion he has formed of the preponderating majority of the people of America, there is no one picture exaggerated.

SHOULD it appear to the minds of any of his readers, that the intention and object of the following pages are to excite such fervour in the public mind, as to make it look upon a war with America as an object in which its feelings would be gratified, he is obliged to declare the intention and object essentially different. These pages proceed from one who is unknown to either the present or late administrations. His opinions have not been formed upon the sentiments of either of those parties; nor have they been thus communicated to the public to forward the views of either, more than those

views are subservient to what the writer conceives to be the real interests of Great Britain as a political body, and a commercial nation. The American people, it may be said, are illiberally and harshly treated : in reply, the writer has only to alledge, that the portrait he has drawn of America, is not original. Chief Justice Marshall is the artist who executed it. The writer of the following pages is only the Engraver from a very fine picture ; the produce of his labours he thus tenders to that part of the public, whose inclination and ability do not allow them to purchase the former. Furthermore, he cannot avoid saying, that had not that work fallen into his hands, this never would have appeared.— Hence, should the American reader feel himself injured in the representations given of the national character, the only alleviation the writer can offer is, to request his perusal of a work written by one of his own countrymen. It will then remain for a dis-

cerning public to say, whether the one does not justify the other.

BEFORE he concludes this subject, the writer cannot forbear alluding to another circumstance.— This is, that we are at present in a state of actual peace with America; and that this publication may be deemed premature, and contemplative of war. It is true, that there has not, as yet, been any declaration on the part of either government, which will lead immediately to war; but there is now in existence an act of the American legislature, declaring that no English manufactures shall be received into the ports of the United States after the 14th of December next. This of course is with the reservation of arrangements which may be made in the interim. This, in the writer's opinion, is one strong ground of justification. There is, however, another, which he considers equally tenable. This is a publication which has appeared in most of the public

prints. It is extracted from "The Richmond Enquirer," an American newspaper, which in that country is pretty well known to be the demi-official, as the "National Intelligencer" is the official, print of the administration. "It is a *fact*, that the paper "so denominated, will not be sent back, out of "respect to the British government. Our ministers "have been directed to proceed as if no such treaty "had been draughted." It then proceeds to a detail about the non-importation act, and quotes a letter from the secretary of state to Mr. Monroe, in which that gentleman is informed, "That *no pretext can be found for the British practice of making impressments on the high seas.*" There are then many comments which go to prove, that, to obtain a relaxation of what has been so long the practice of Great Britain, is the sole objection "*to the paper denominated the Treaty.*" Here, then, is the ground the writer stands upon. He calls on his readers to state their opinion of this paragraph, and at the same time to re-

collect, that it comes from a source, the genuineness of which cannot be doubted. Will not this be pronounced a justification? Is Great Britain to be told by the United States, that a treaty which has cost so much trouble and time to form, is to be considered as waste paper? Is this a return for the distinguished attention paid the United States, in nominating two noblemen, of high rank, and as great talents, for the special purpose of negotiating with her ministers? Is the government to be told that they had better say nothing about the past, but begin *de novo*?

It would be unjust not to avow, that amongst the minority (a minority indeed) of the people of America, there are characters who would do honour to any country. It does not, however, diminish the charges against the majority, to say, that the efforts of the Adamses, the Amesese, the Trumbulls, the Kings, the Morrisese, the Pinckneys, the Smiths, and the

Rutledges, have been unavailing. America has been
“ deaf to the voice of the charmer, charm he never so
“ wisely,” since the death of the illustrious Washing-
ton, and the destruction of his system of govern-
ment. His loss, to her irreparable, may be well
described in the words which the elegant Tacitus
applies to Germanicus, “ In doluere exteræ natio-
“ nes regesque ; tanta illi comitas in socios, man-
“ suetudo in hostes ; visuque et auditu juxta ve-
“ nerabilis, cum magnitudinem et gravitatem sum-
“ mæ fortunæ retineret, invidiam et arrogantiam
“ effugerat.”

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TRUE PICTURE

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THE situation of Great Britain and the United States, of America seems now so fast approaching to that period when the question will be put of peace or war, that the author of these reflections has been induced, from an urgent and pressing conviction of the truth of the opinion, to call the attention of his fellow countrymen to the circumstances that thus threaten to involve us either in an extended degree of war, or, should (which God avert!) the season of forbearance not be passed, in a surrender of those great rights and means to which we are indebted for our naval power; in short, to set

the seal on an instrument, avowing ourselves not able to contest with a weak, and therefore not worthy to retain our rank with the great nations of the world.

AMONG the most extraordinary acts of this extraordinary period, there is no one which causes greater surprise, than the general apathy of the inhabitants of this country to the conduct of America, since the peace of 1783. That this apathetic system has arisen from that magnanimity which has ever distinguished the British character, I will not deny ; but, as an Englishman, as one who is ardent and zealous in the support of that system that has given political consequence to our country, I cannot avoid thus entering my protest against it ; and at the same time calling, in the most urgent manner, the attention of my fellow subjects to the real situation with regard to each other that the two governments are in at this moment.

I SHALL endeavour to shew, with candour and truth, the causes which are likely thus to terminate in hostility, or suspension of intercourse ; for hostility or suspension of intercourse must take place, unless disgraceful concession on the part of Great Britain is made.

HERE, however, it is necessary to declare, that my language is not that of a partizan; it is not the language of the supporter of this or that administration; but that of a Briton who has the good of his country, its honour, its glory, its safety, and its happiness at heart. The author knows the American character; he is acquainted with that deadly hatred, which is cherished in the majority of American breasts towards this, their mother country.— He knows also, the fellow feeling, the ardent affection that the majority of that people have for France, whether she be governed by king, convention, consul, or emperor. He is also aware of their ignorance of true policy; and is too well acquainted with them not to know that malign jealousy that makes them look with envious eyes on the proud and elevated station which this country now holds; and the unutterable joy *they* would feel in seeing the arch fiend now ruling continental Europe, wielding upon it his pestilential sceptre.— This they would hail as an epoch when happiness was to commence, although their destruction is sure to succeed it; and that too, with the utmost rapidity.

BEFORE, however, the author proceeds to prove what is the object of these remarks, he thinks it necessary to take notice of the great ignorance which

prevails in this country, relative to the American disposition and character. This has however arisen from representations coming in such a way, and through such respectable channels, that it is more to be regretted than difficult to be accounted for.— It has been an amiable error on the part of the people of this country: it has nevertheless been an error, and a great one*. But it is one which will speedily be developed; it is one which has been felt and dreaded by the few discerning men in that country, from the earliest periods of the French revolution. The mania for French connection; the attachment, through all the scenes of blood, carnage, and devastation, to the perpetrators of those scenes of blood, carnage, and devastation; the palliation of every atrocious act of the more atrocious convention; the avowed wish that has at all times existed, and, by the great majority of people been expressed, for the subjugation of Great

* This observation arose from a remark in that highly respectable publication "The Monthly Review." In a critique on Mr. Jansen's "Stranger in America," a work which is infinitely valuable for the just representations it contains, the Reviewers allow him due praise, but still seem to cling to an old opinion of theirs, "that there was not a determined aversion existing in that country towards Great Britain." They may rest assured Mr. Jansen is right. Their opinion is much to the credit of their hearts, but will not give that class of their readers who know the American character, a very exalted idea of their information on the subject.

Britain, and the domination of France; the patronage granted for the past six years to every one who could bring proofs of his having rebelled against his king, or plotted the devastation of his country*; all these loud and declared facts have been so notorious, that to doubt the settled, the inveterate hostility of the American people, were to doubt the most self-evident proposition in nature.

THE object of the writer will now be an endeavour to lay before his readers a succinct account of the conduct of the United States towards Great Britain, since the peace of 1783; and the conduct observed to her in return. It may seem extraordinary to recur to events that have happened at a period so distant, but it will be found to be neither irrelevant nor displeasing, in as much as the result will be favourable to a long-acknowledged fact, that the conduct of this country, viewed in any light, and under any administration, has been as friendly and conciliating as theirs has been perverse, hostile, and malignant.

* The law which requires a residence of five years to obtain the rights of citizenship, was dispensed with in the case of Thomas A. Emmet. He was admitted to the bar in New York as a barrister, within two years from his discharge from another bar in Dublin, as a culprit. The "no quarter" proclamation, was doubtless of assistance to him in America.

It must be recollected, that the confederation of States, which was formed at the commencement of the revolution, continued for some time after the peace. The nature of this compact will also be recollected. It was a pure (if this is not a contradiction in terms) democracy. The government was not placed in the hands of even a few individuals, but remained in possession of the representatives of the States.

CONSIDERABLE difficulties existed in the objects prescribed by the treaty of peace. These difficulties arose from the impediments which were placed in the way of His Majesty's subjects, which operated so as to prevent their recovery of debts which had been owing previous to the revolution. These debts it was not possible to recover. This, and other circumstances, sanctioned the British government in the retention of posts, &c. which, had the terms of the treaty been strictly complied with on the part of America, ought to, and would have been surrendered.

IMPELLED by a sense of justice to British subjects, who had thus been sufferers from the conduct of America, as well as a knowledge of the inefficacy of the American system of government, and its inability to give actual effect to any measures they

might assent to by treaty or otherwise, it seems to have been the determination formed by the King's (then) ministers, not to commit themselves in any intimate political transaction, unless they had a full conviction that there existed on the part of the American government, to reciprocate any advantages which might be granted to them. In this sentiment we are sanctioned by the opinion of Mr. Adams, then minister at our court: "If the United States," said that gentleman, "become respectable, it must be by more energy in the government."

HERE it will be necessary to revert to one fact, which will impress itself strongly on the mind of every Englishman, and more particularly those who are concerned in its shipping interest, the uniformity with which the popular party in America has pursued its system relative to their trade with the West Indies. The government, then the congress, sent Mr. Adams to London with particular instructions, that he should keep this object in view. Indeed, to make Great Britain relax from her colonial system seems to have been the principal motive of this gentleman's appointment. It seems also to have induced them to turn their thoughts towards strengthening their government, by lodging the power in a smaller compass. They

were, it seems, weak enough to think they could, thus strengthened, obtain the end that Great Britain in their actual state denied them; for, in the "Life of Washington," we find the following observations:—"The latter country (America) *expected great relaxations in the Navigation Act, and a free admission into the colonies of the former; and believed their commerce of sufficient importance to obtain these objects, if it could be regulated by a single legislature.*"

BEFORE I proceed any farther in this discussion, a digression must be made, in order that a line of distinction may be drawn relative to the different parties in America; and that these observations may not involve the character of one whose conduct, in whatever light it may be viewed, will be found to have reflected honour on human nature. Washington seems, from principle, to have resisted what he deemed encroachments on the part of the mother country. The resistance made, and the object obtained, his sword was sheathed, and with it every degree of animosity. His mind seems then to have bent its powers to communicate to the system of government a tone, and to give to its acts energy, that should not only form a durable basis for its glory, but its happiness. He seemed to be well acquainted with the nature of the population among

which it was his lot to live. The tendency of that population (from the materials of which it was composed) to unlicensed and uncontrouled depravity, he well knew. Of the great difficulty of putting in practice any of the speculative republican theories, with which the world at that moment abounded, he was well aware. No one felt more strongly than himself the truth of the opinion, that, "intestine commotion and domestic calamity generate general vice, in as great or greater proportion, as they call forth patterns of individual virtue." Acting upon such principles, the course he seems to have steered appears to have been unvaried by the gusts of popular clamour which assailed him. He had however to exert all his influence to keep the scales tolerably even between the contending parties. His system survived him but a very short period. At the very first election after his death, the popular party succeeded in gaining the ascendancy they had sought after with the most persevering activity for nearly twelve years. Subsequent to this event, it would be a satisfaction if we could see the remnant of his party following the example, and copying the conduct of their illustrious leader. This, however, we have to regret, has not been the case. The contagion of abuse and violence seems to have reached them. However, there is at all events to be said in their vindication, though their conduct

cannot but be regretted, we must recollect what the party is to which they are opposed, and the materials of which it is composed. Finally, it is only candour to allow, that, however the moderate party may have forgotten themselves in their language, their intentions have been pure; and they possess the property, the rank; in short, the respectability of America. The popular party, with a few exceptions, have nothing to boast of but numbers. These numbers have now obtained the most uncontrollable strength.

To resume the narrative.—In December 1785, we find Mr. Adams at our court, “urging the complaints of America, and pressing for a full compliance with the treaty.” In reply, we hear the Marquis of Carmarthen observing to him, that, “the engagements entered into by a treaty ought to be mutual, and equally binding on the respective contracting parties. It would therefore be the height of folly, as well as injustice, to suppose our party alone obliged to a strict observance of the public faith, while the other might remain free to deviate from its own engagements, as often as convenience might render such deviation necessary, though at the expence of its own credit and importance.” And he concluded with assuring the American minister, that as soon

as his government should evince on their part a disposition to fulfil the treaty, Great Britain would co-operate with her. For the justice of the noble Marquis's allegations, we need only refer to a letter of Mr. Jay's to General Washington, in which he confesses, "*it is too true, the treaty has been violated.*" In reply, we find General Washington exclaiming, "what a misfortune it is that the *British* should have so well grounded a pretext for their palpable infraction: and what a *disgraceful part, out of the choice of difficulties, are we to act.*"

In no measure is the American system more evident, than the predicament in which the creditor was placed. Session after session, in the state legislatures, were acts, called instalment acts, passed, defining the different periods to which the payment of instalments on debts were to be deferred. This, it was to be recollected, was done in actual defiance of the treaty. The conduct of the popular party on this occasion is well described by the learned biographer of Washington. "These contests were the more animated, because, *in the state governments generally no principle had been introduced which could resist the wild progress of the moment, give the people an opportunity to reflect, and allow the*

"good sense of the nation time for reflection." Such was the want of principle at that time (would to God, for the honour of humanity, it had terminated then!) existing, that "it was impossible to negotiate bonds even where the creditors were unquestionably competent, but at a discount of 30, 40, or 50 per cent." From their legislatures they expected other acts favourable to the prolongation of payments, and made their election of such men as would pledge themselves to vote for these measures. They even threatened "to suspend the administration of justice by private violence." As to private debts, however, we are bound not to express much surprise, when we find, from the authority of Washington himself, that "requisitions" (from the government) "are actually little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land." Its authority, from Mr. Jay's description of it, seems in general cases to be as weak, as in that of requisition for pecuniary advances. "Private rage for property," says that gentleman, "suppresses public consideration; and personal, rather than national interests, have become the great objects of attention. Representative bodies will ever be faithful copies of their originals, and generally exhibit a chequered assemblage of virtue and vice, of ability and weakness."

It was under these circumstances that they were compelled to form a stronger government. Such was the critical situation in which they were placed, that we find Washington expressing his wish, that, "any thing, nay every thing should be essayed to prevent the effusion of blood, and to avert the humiliating and contemptible figure we are about to make in the annals of mankind." Here we see the great danger they were in, not from British stamp acts or Boston port bills; not from British armies or British navies; but, from American sedition, from American vice. We find that such was the height to which not only opposition to order, but open violation of law, reached, as to compel a judge (who had been an officer) to declare at the head of 300 men, "That he would die as a general or sit as a judge." Such was the "licentious spirit," the "desire of change," the "wish to annihilate all debts," to exert the force of the poor and the numerous to bear away the property of the few and the more wealthy, that they combined an organized body of twelve or fifteen thousand men. To such a height did this spirit of insubordination reach, that it appears open civil war was expected, and upon the best ground, for the insurrection was not quelled without a recourse to arms, in which several rioters were killed. It was under

such circumstances, circumstances that had not the magnanimity, the honour, and the devoted attachment of the British Government to its engagements been so exalted and so firm, held out the fairest opportunity of regaining the footing it had lost; it was, I say, under such circumstances, that these people formed a determination to frame a government that could act, and with effect.

ON the government which was the result of their deliberations, it may not be amiss to observe, that the experiment it had tried upon it for the first twelve years, proved it susceptible of being rendered a blessing to the people. But as it was the work of human hands, the framers of it could provide no barrier to abuse. It is highly aristocratical. The power of the president when he acts with the senate, is as great or greater than that of the King of England*. From our government it was avow-

* Within the last twelve months, President Jefferson has proved he has more power than George III. nay as much as "his great and good friends," the Emperor of France or King of Holland.—Under the sanction of the present administration, persons have been seized at New Orleans, the habeas corpus of the civil judge has been spurned by the military, by whom they were seized and carried to Washington, (a distance of 1000 miles) where they have been discharged. This is the land of "free doings," with a vengeance.

edly modelled. One of its framers, (Dr. Franklin) was accustomed to express his opinion of the old adage, that it depended more on the administration than the mere letter of a constitution, whether it should produce evil or good. This, the work of his and his compatriots' hands, will fully prove the truth of the sentiment.

AT this critical period, at a moment when the fever of "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion," had nearly inflamed the popular mind to its utmost height, it was that Washington was called to take charge of the helm of government, by a people who in their choice of him seemed unanimous, although the reason of this unanimity (when we consider their past and present conduct) seems difficult, if not impossible to be given. As notwithstanding this apparent unanimity in their choice of him as president, there still seemed to exist in their minds an inveterate hostility to a government which should be invested with the power necessary to ensure respect in its foreign and domestic relations. The states still clung to their individual supremacy. Fortunately, however, the preponderance of talent and character which had been in the convention, appeared in the first congress, and assured for a short time a fair trial to a system of government, which was now to undergo the experiment. This,

however, seems to have been an object, the attainment of which was attended with no little difficulty. A fear was at one time entertained, that the refractory states would endeavour to have a second convention. Had this been the case, the crisis, which by the letters to and from General Washington, seemed by himself and his friends to be thought approaching, would have advanced with rapidity, and the prophecies of European statesmen, by whom their existence was considered ephemeral, would have been promptly fulfilled.

WE see Washington now at the head of a government, with an exhausted Treasury, with a total loss of reputation for not having discharged its debts, either to foreign nations, its own individuals who have loaned it money during the period of its distresses, or its own citizens who have fought and bled in its service. To these difficulties are to be added the existing relations between Great Britain and Spain, and the United States. These governments both held possessions on the same continent, had not only the means of actual embarrassments, but great opportunities of intrigue with the citizens, as well as the Indian of the frontier. Of the disposition of one of these powers, generally under the influence of France, there has never been wanting proofs. The last, and not the least of his diffi-

culties seemed to arise from the nature of the population he had to govern. Turbulent, restless, and ignorant*, they viewed with the most jealous eye any of those steps taken which were necessary to give to the general government an energy and vigour, without which no government could exist.— Attached from habit and inclination to a greater proportion of power being lodged in the municipal or state legislatures, they watched with lynx's eyes the measures of the general government that might reduce those privileges. Such were a few of the difficulties with which we see the constitution, while yet in its cradle.

At this period more especially, begin those measures in which symptoms of hostility to Great

* There is a common idea in this country, that, taken collectively, the Americans are a clever people. This is a great error; at least, if the smallest proportion of liberal or expanded knowledge is supposed to accompany this "cleverness." Cunning and shrewdness are the leading features of their national character. Their shrewdness, however, goes little farther than, (to adopt a commercial phrase) "the driving a hard bargain." The great body of talent that exists in that country, rests with men far past the prime of life, who are either indebted for it to the English system of education, while America was in our possession, or to actual education in Europe. There are men who have taken degrees in the American colleges of Bachelors and Masters of Arts, who cannot write a common letter with orthographical correctness.

Britain were exhibited. Cherishing in their bosoms a great degree of animosity to this country and her subjects, every act of the government was with the most refined malignity traced up to a determination and disposition on the part of the King's ministers to unsheath the sword, or infringe a solemn treaty. That this supposition and suspicion were erroneous, will not be difficult to believe, when we have before our eyes, the opinions which the officers of their own government furnish us with.

Not long after this period, that momentous event, the French revolution, commenced, by the limitation of the powers of the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth. At this period also, will more immediately commence that series of facts, which will be deduced, in order to prove the great influence the French government has always endeavoured to gain in that country, and the means by which they have obtained their object.

Mr. Jay, who seems to have been always aware of the necessity of America keeping herself clear of any entangling alliances with France, appears, soon after the accession of Washington to the presidency, to have expressed this in his conduct to the French minister. Baffled by the secretary of state, that

nobleman, under various pretences, obtained an interview with General Washington, to whom he expressed a wish that the communications which took place between himself and the government, might pass immediately from himself to the president, without any reference to the secretary of state.— This proposition, however, met with a positive and immediate refusal by the president.

THE French at this early period seemed to have framed a virtual alliance with the American people. For, no sooner do we find the representatives of the American nation assembled under the new constitution, than a disposition to grant advantages to France, which were denied to Great Britain, appeared. Owing, however, to the good sense of the controuling body, the senate, these advantages were not yielded. *But still it is necessary to bear in mind one fact; That had the power existed in the house of representatives, they would have been yielded.* The failure of the popular party in carrying their measure, does not lessen the spirit of their hostility to Great Britain*.

* *En passant*, it is impossible here to omit mentioning a circumstance which will furnish the reader who is ignorant of the true character of this party, with a tolerably correct idea of it. In a debate on the funding the debt, Mr. Scott said, "*that the United States were not bound to pay the domestic creditors the sums spe*

It has been before observed, that the situation and character of the government of the United States had been such, that it appeared to have been deemed prudent by Mr. Pitt, then at the head of affairs, to withhold any intimate diplomatic intercourse with it. This seems to have added to General Washington's difficulties. To remove it, and to sound the British government on the subject of the future relation of the two governments, he desired Mr. Morris, a gentleman then in England on private business, to discover, if possible, the sentiments of His Majesty's ministers. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Leeds seem to

"cited in the certificates of the debts in their possession." He supported this opinion by urging, "not that the public had received less value than was expressed on the face of the paper which had been issued, but *that those to whom it had been delivered, by parting with it at 2s. 6d. in the pound, had themselves fixed the value of their claim, and manifested their willingness to add to their other sacrifices this deduction of their demand upon the nation.*" It would be possible to enlarge upon this subject; but any one wishing to see a picture of Colossal iniquity, it is only necessary to refer them to the account of the debate on the funding the national debt, as given by Judge Marshall. The character and conduct of the contending parties will be developed by it. The good sense of that supporting, is loudly proclaimed by the actual effects of the measure, in which no man can be deceived. The opposing party were the men who now have possession of the government, and had nearly succeeded in their opposition, as the bill was only carried by a very small majority.

have met this gentleman with the characteristic candour of the country, in stating to him, "that it was their wish to be upon the best terms with America;" but "repeated the complaints which had been made by the Duke of Leeds when Lord Carmarthen, of the non-execution of the treaty of peace on the part of the United States." To the observation made by Mr. Morris, that "the constitution lately adopted, and the judicial courts established under it, amounted to a full compliance with the treaty on the part of the American government;" it was answered, "that losses had already been sustained in consequence of the obstructions given by the states to the fair operation of that instrument, which rendered a faithful observance of it at present impossible;" and, in a note, the Duke of Leeds expressly avowed the intention, "if the delay on the part of the American government to fulfil its engagements made in the treaty, should have rendered their final completion impracticable, to retard the fulfilment of those which depended on Great Britain, until redress should be granted to the subjects of His Majesty, in the specific points of the treaty itself, or a fair and just compensation obtained for the non-performance of those stipulations which the United States had failed to observe." The capability of the government at

this time to have had recourse to harsh and violent measures, which the conduct of America would have justified, is easily gathered from an observation of Mr. Morris, "that there never was a moment " in which this country (Great Britain) felt herself " greater than at present."

IN the Autumn of 1791, the British government, influenced by those motives that had actuated it ever since the peace, seized the first opportunity that the minds and political arrangements of the American government and people offered, to open a regular diplomatic intercourse. Still, however, their appointment of a minister, was accompanied with the necessary caution of withholding full powers to treat of final arrangements. This step they seem to have been amply justified in, by their knowledge of the feeling that existed in the great majority of Americans, relative to the necessity of free ships making free goods, and their claiming an open trade with the colonies. Many other reasons might be adduced, to prove the propriety of this conduct,

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred at this moment, which will more fully prove the propriety and consistency of the British government's conduct towards America. Contemplating, it is presumed,

the future connection with America, a report appears to have been made by a committee of the privy council on the subject. It was printed, but recalled; not, however, in sufficient time to prevent a copy getting into the hands of the American government. "After expressing a willingness to frame a commercial treaty with the American government, on principles of perfect equality, both with respect to navigation and commerce, so far as regarded the dominions of his British Majesty in Europe. But, if it was said, *Congress should propose to extend this equality to the remaining colonies on the continent, or to the West India islands, the answer ought to be, that the demand would not be admitted, even as a subject of negotiation.*" As to free bottoms making free goods, the report was equally peremptory. It concluded with recommending a treaty, provided "it could be formed without a departure from those principles, which were in the previous part of the report considered as fundamental." To peruse the extracts from this report, which, proceeding from the source it does, we are bound to believe accurate, where can be found, by whom can be prescribed, language and conduct more magnanimous, more candid, or more politic? Let us refer to their own people for what *their* conduct had been. What part of the treaty that

they could infringe, by not fulfilling, had they not done? Was a penny of the debt which they had engaged to pay by that treaty, discharged? Was there any means to compel its payment? Were the courts of justice open to British claims; to any effect at least? Contrast the conduct of Great Britain—Was there any violence of expression, any virulence of conduct? Was hers not rather that of an affectionate parent towards a froward and wayward child; than the conduct of one political body to another, whose language had been for more than eight years of the most violent nature, and which had indicated a wish and an inclination more malignant than the savage of their woods, never to bury the hatchet of discord.

ABOUT this period (1792), the parties in the United States seemed forming, and commencing, for the first time, systematic operations under their respective leaders. The press was an engine too easily wielded, and too powerful when wielded, not to be resorted to. Assisted by it, the republican and the federal parties, as they are distinguished, each assailed the other, with virulence and intemperance. Various domestic circumstances led to their thus forming themselves. A principal cause of dissatisfaction to the republican party seemed to be the success of the other, which was

insured to them by the countenance of General Washington, and the abilities of Col. Hamilton and General Knox. The opinion of these gentlemen he seems to have pretty generally coincided in, and, in no circumstance more ardently it appears, than a fixed determination to prevent French influence obtaining the ground which the disposition of the people gave strong reasons to fear it would. This of course implicated him, and we find by the testimony of his biographer, that now it was discovered that even his elevated character was, in an indirect way, the subject of the attacks and libels of the republican or popular party. Under the pretence of attacking his levees, which were charged upon him as monarchical, but which, in fact, merely arose from the necessity he felt ^{great} of maintaining a just medium between ~~much~~ state and too much familiarity." In these levees, and the resolution he entered into of not returning any visits, were discovered the insidious approaches of the ambitious courtier to the shrine of arbitrary power. This, however, seems merely to have been a pretence.— His predetermination to prevent undue influence on the part of France, and determined support of the measures that tended to that necessary end, seemed to have been more the cause than any which were at that time openly alledged. But an event now happened in Europe, which gave strength and

consistency to these charges, however frivolous and ridiculous they may appear. The unfortunate Louis was now consigned to the dungeons of the Temple; a republic was decreed by a nation composed of twenty-five millions of persons. This was an impulse too strong to be repelled. The republican flame, which had already been lighted in America, burnt with additional ardour. Such was its effect on the party in opposition to General Washington, that it seems to have given permanent consistency to the lines of division already drawn, and now decidedly to characterize the respective parties by the term, French, and neutral, or moderate. The sanguine light in which the French revolution was viewed by Mr. Jefferson, and the Burke-like ^{presages} passages which Colonel Hamilton drew from it, in which he seems to have been supported by General Washington and Mr. Adams, gave additional keenness and energy to the contending parties.

At this period is to be dated the birth of that political bantling in America, that has now arrived to a Colossal size, French influence. The destruction of the monarchy, and the establishment of the legislative powers residing in only one body, was the signal for a shout of approbation on the part of the American people, that resounded from one end

of the continent to the other. Such was the animation and fervour with which the intelligence of these events was received, that it required all the strength, firmness, and vigour of Washington to prevent them breaking beyond those bounds, which not only policy, but a common regard for the treaties into which their government had entered, prescribed; and which would have thrown not merely into the arms of revolutionary France, but have introduced into their own country those scenes of carnage and destruction that immediately afterwards desolated the fairest part of Europe. Such, it seems, was the fervent admiration with which they viewed the French revolution, that because there had been (owing, of course, to the confusion which had existed in France) some delay in the payment of the debt, this very circumstance was brought as a charge against the American government, of being hostile to France and the revolutionary constitution.

WASHINGTON was however unmoved. In the year 1793, he was re-elected to the presidency, and we find him early in that year, acting with his usual vigour and determination. Clearly foreseeing the event of the French revolution, and at the same time dreading the approach of any thing which should give additional strength to the violent spirit

already existing in America, he seems early to have determined, that no endeavour on his part should be wanting to establish that neutrality which was so necessary to her existence as a nation. In April, 1793, the account of the war between Great Britain and France arrived. In all classes, it seemed to give additional vigour to the hatred to England, and, if possible, to their affection for France. The few who thought differently to the many, were "tools of Britain," and "satellites of despotism." A pretty plain and practical comment on this text, was, their fitting out in American ports, ships of war under French commissions to capture British shipping.

It may be necessary here to call the attention of the reader to the fact, that, by the treaty between the United States and France, which was made in 1778, engagements offensive and defensive were entered into by the contracting parties: with this provision, however, that, either of the parties being the aggressor on a third, could not in that case call for the execution of the treaty. Hence it became necessary, as soon as France was involved in war, for America to ascertain whether she was or was not the injured party? To determine this fact, General Washington put certain queries to his cabinet, for them to consider and give their opinion

upon. Their reply was unanimous, that France, not Great Britain, was the aggressor. In order to give this opinion its full weight, as well as to check the lawless spirit of privateering, he issued his proclamation, declaring the United States to be neutral; and, of course, enjoining its citizens to respect that neutrality.

THIS proclamation of neutrality seems to have been a signal agreed upon, or rather received by the popular party, as one for an attack on General Washington, and on Great Britain, more virulent than had hitherto appeared. To injure the latter, no step but what was taken, no artifice was left untried. On the other hand, although the streets of Paris were streaming with the best and the worst blood of France; though a jacobin, and a prince were indiscriminately dragged to the scaffold, it was done in the glorious cause of liberty, against the combined despots. To aid in this infernal conspiracy, there soon arrived an agent, "charged with alembick from the Parisian hell," who was furnished with full powers, and as great inclination, to add fuel to the already dangerous flame. Thus was a revolutionary character introduced for the first time. The instructions he came with were, to try and discover if the executive government were well affected to the revolution. If

he should find this part of the community not willing to become the dupes of their infernal machinations, he was then to see whether the response of the people would be more consonant to their wishes. The former he soon found he could not model to the shape he desired. The latter he found "like clay in the hand of the potter," ready to receive any impression which he chose to give it.

KNOWING the character of the different parts of the Union, and that wild democracy was a plant of luxuriant growth in the new southern latitudes, he contrived to land at Charleston in South Carolina. In this town he was received by the Governor of the state, with the most marked attention. In order more effectually to feel the public pulse, and give animation to the rising sentiments of sympathy and affection already existing in the American minds for their republican friends, he determined upon travelling by land to New York. The slow method of travelling was peculiarly favourable to the object he had in view ; and we find him arriving at the seat of the government, in more than a month after his landing on the territory of the United States. Nor were the mild and virtuous inhabitants of these blissful regions restrained by any of the vulgar rules that, in the savage countries of Europe, govern the conduct of individuals. With

ardour did they embrace him as the apostle of liberty. With equal detestation did they express their horror at the atrocious conduct of Great Britain, then at the head of a combination of despots, armed against the dearest rights and privileges of mankind.

THE positive infringements, upon not only the law of nations, but of their treaties, were such, that it became a matter of duty in the British minister to call the attention of the government to the subject, and to claim restitution. To this requisition it will be well to notice the reply.—When the president consulted the secretaries of state, of war, and of the treasury, as well as the attorney general, on the subject of the restitution, the former, Mr. Jefferson, and the latter, Mr. Randolph, (whose intercepted correspondence will be well recollected) thought the propriety of restitution was dubious.—They imagined, that, “By disavowing the act, by
 “ taking measures to prevent its repetition, by pro-
 “ secuting the American citizens engaged in it,
 “ the United States ought to stand justified with
 “ Great Britain; and for that power to demand
 “ farther reparation would be wrong on her part.
 “ *That the vessels which had been captured on the*
 “ *high seas, and brought into the United States, by*
 “ *privateers fitted out and commissioned in their*

"ports, ought not to be restored." To give the opposed opinions of Colonel Hamilton and General Knox, with their reasons, would be insulting to the understanding of the reader.

DISAPPOINTED, however, by this conduct, Genet seems determined to try whether he could or could not exhaust insult, when he made replies to the communications which were made to him, of the general principle upon which the government had determined to act. Not satisfied with this, however, he boldly claims the release of two American seamen, who had entered on board a French privateer, and against whom a process of law was in the course of prosecution.

AT this period, it is impossible to avoid remarking the caution the government were obliged to observe in their communications with Genet. The motive could only have been the dread of the popular interference, a fear that seems to have arisen with some degree of justice. All the jargon of the French revolution was adopted. The red cap of jacobin France passed in their civic feasts, from head to head. The press was almost uniform in its support. Had these acts been unaccompanied by others of insult to Great Britain, they might have passed unnoticed, and have been attributed to the

heat and intemperance of the moment. But simple silence on the subject of Great Britain would not satisfy these republicans. Nothing would satiate their fraternal ardor for their French friends, but, the most unlimited abuse of the monarch, of the government, of the subjects of Great Britain, must be united with their rejoicings at the horrors of revolutionary France. In the animated language of Mr. Marshall, "Mr. Genet was exhorted not to relax in his endeavours to maintain the just rights of his country, and was assured, that in the *affections of the people he would find a firm and certain support.*"

In June, 1793, a circumstance occurred which places American neutrality in a strong light. An English ship was captured by the French, and brought into Philadelphia, where she was refitted, and armed to cruize against British commerce.—The president was at his seat for a few days. Col. Hamilton communicated the fact to General Knox and Mr. Jefferson. Directions were then given to the municipal authorities, to report the state she was in, and the probable period of her sailing. It was ascertained that she was ready for sea. In consequence of this, a gentleman was sent to Genet to request, that he would delay her sailing until the arrival of General Washington. He replied with

his accustomed insolence, and refused to give a specific answer as to her detention. On this intelligence, a body of troops was ordered by the governor of the state to be stationed in such a situation, that force, should it be necessary, might be employed. The governor communicated this fact to the general government. In consequence of this intimation Mr. Jefferson waited on Genet, who seems to have observed the same conduct to him that he did to the gentleman who had previously been with him. He refused Mr. Jefferson any direct answer as to her detention. This gentleman's report induced General Knox and Colonel Hamilton to advise that force should be resorted to. From this opinion, however, Mr. Jefferson dissented, and the vessel sailed on her cruise before the arrival of the president. The circumstances were of course made known to him by General Knox and Colonel Hamilton, on his arrival. Excessively indignant at such conduct, General Washington immediately sent a messenger, desiring Mr. Jefferson's attendance. He had retired indisposed into the country. General Washington then addressed him the following letter.—What he felt on the occasion is strongly depicted in its style:—

“ What is to be done in the case of the Little
 “ Sarah, now at Chester? Is the minister of the
 “ French republic to set the acts of this govern-

" ment at defiance with impunity, and then threaten
 " the execution with an appeal to the people?—
 " What must the world think of such a conduct;
 " and of the government of the United States, in
 " submitting to it?" Such, it seems, was the con-
 duct of a French revolutionary minister. It is not,
 however, to be wondered at, when we recollect by
 whom he was supported. Facts proved afterwards,
 he had tampered with a minister. They declared
 now, that he was supported by the people. As a
 proof that he might feel himself justified, it is only
 necessary to recur to some sentiments, which were
 expressed in the shape of toasts, given at a civic *fete*,
 at which a *governor* of Pennsylvania and a regiment
 of militia were present. " Union and mutual confi-
 " dence to the patriots of France; confusion and
 " distress to the councils of their enemies." " May
 " the succeeding generations wonder that such
 " beings as kings were ever suffered to exist."

An expression of affection for France, as has been
 before observed, never satisfied these ardent repub-
 licans. They must in their more solemn characters,
 as jurors, avow their support of France. We find
 them pronouncing a verdict of acquittal on a
 criminal, who was an American citizen, who had
 armed against a power with which they were at
 peace. This man, guilty in the eye of the law of
 nations and his own country, was acquitted.

THE French Minister, however, judging from the popular fervour and ardour in the cause of France, and proportional enmity to Great Britain, seems still to pursue this violent conduct.—The American government was thus at last driven to request his recal. When he learnt that this measure had been taken, he addressed a most angry letter to the secretary of state, in which he charged the president with having transcended the power of the constitution; and of *his accusation before Congress* he spoke of as an act of justice, “ which the “ American people, which the French people, “ which all free people, were interested to reclaim.” To Mr. Jefferson his bitterness also extended. That gentleman, he said, he considered *his personal friend*.—“ *He had,*” said Genet, “ *initiated him “ into mysteries which had inflamed his hatred “ against all those who aspire to absolute power.*”—Thus we see he did not confine his asperity to the president, or “ to those gentlemen who had been “ painted to him so often as aristocrats, partizans “ of monarchy, *partizans of England*, and consequently enemies of the principles which all good “ Frenchmen had embraced with a religious enthusiasm.” He seemed to spare not a man he had hitherto been led to conceive his best friend.

DETERMINED to drain the cup of insult to its last dregs, we find Genet putting in force his in-

structions relative to an appeal to the people, against the president. With all the art of French intrigue, he claims from the president, (in a letter addressed to him, contrary to all rule,) a contradiction of what had been said relative to an assertion of his, about an appeal to the people. The very insulting letter in which this demand was made, was, it seems, the act he threatened, for it was intended for publication.

By all these circumstances, however, the popular ardour was not to be cooled. No violence, no insolence on the part of Genet, seems to shake their fixed purpose. He might heap insult upon insult, on those who held the reins of the American government; and have committed injury upon injury, on the subjects and government of Great Britain: nothing seemed capable of moving the resolution of his republican brethren. Here, it is impossible not to quote the sentiments of Mr. Marshall, to which a calm reflection on these circumstances now past, and the heat of opinion on which has now cooled, have given rise. They ought to make a deep impression on every British heart. If duly considered, they must prove the deadly hatred the American bears the English character. "Seldom has
" more conclusive testimony been offered of the
" ascendancy which, in the conflicts of party,

" the passions maintain over reason, than was ex-
 " hibited on this occasion, by the zealous parti-
 " zans of the French minister. It might have been
 " expected, that, content with questioning the
 " fact, or diverting the obloquy attending it from
 " the French nation, no American could have been
 " found hardy enough to justify it, and but few to
 " condemn those gentlemen by whose means it
 " reached the public ears. *Nothing* can be farther
 " removed from this expectation, than the conduct
 " which was actually observed. The censure me-
 " rited by the expressions themselves, fell, not on
 " the person who had used them, but on those who
 " communicated them to the public. By writers
 " of considerable political eminence, they were de-
 " clared to be members of a powerful faction, who
 " were desirous of separating *America* from *France*,
 " and connecting her with England, for the
 " purpose of introducing the British constitution.
 " They had caught with eagerness, it was said, at
 " some supposed misunderstanding between the
 " minister of the republic, and the president; and
 " this stratagem had been used in the hope that,
 " by the popularity of the latter, the regard for the
 " nation of the former might be diminished; as if
 " no sin could equal the crime of disclosing to the
 " people a truth which, by due reflection, might
 " check the flood of that passion for France, which

“ was deemed the surest test of patriotism. The
 “ darkest motives were assigned for the disclosure;
 “ and the reputation of those who made it, could
 “ be rescued only by a lapse of years, and by a
 “ change of the subject of controversy, from the pe-
 “ culiar party odium with which they were at the
 “ time overwhelmed.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred in France, which also tended to remove the agent Genet from America. It was the fall of Robespierre, whose reign, whose measures, marked as they were with blood, could not divorce the popular party in America from their idol. The worship of this modern Nero was suited to their character. They clung to the nation of which he was the household god. They lingered in the embraces of jacobinism and democracy, and proved themselves worthy children of the same parent.

A CASUAL occurrence in the foreign relations of Great Britain took place in the year 1794, which will add another to the many traits already given of American enmity. At the commencement of the war in 1793, Portugal was engaged in war with the Barbary powers. Wishing to bring the naval forces of Portugal into a more effectual service, Great Britain determined to mediate between

her faithful Majesty and the regencies. This mediation was successful. The hostility of those powers was then confined to depredations on American commerce. Will it be believed, that the cause of this mediation was traced up to the ineteracy that Great Britain possessed towards America? Good God! of what dark and base materials must the minds of such persons be composed, to believe that the British government could mediate for one power merely to let loose the corsairs of Africa on the defenceless commerce of another!!—The reflections of the learned biographer of Washington are so just, that it would be injuring him not to give them. “ From governments accus-
 “ tomed to trust rather to artifice than to force, or
 “ to reason; and influenced by vindictive passions,
 “ which they have not strength nor courage to jus-
 “ tify, hostility may be expected to exert itself in
 “ a cruel and insidious policy, which unfeelingly
 “ dooms individuals to chains, and involves them
 “ in ruin, without having a tendency to effect any
 “ national object. But the British character rather
 “ wounds by its pride, and offends by its haughti-
 “ ness and open violence, than injures by the secret
 “ indulgence of a malignant, but a paltry and un-
 “ profitable revenge; and certainly such unworthy
 “ motives ought not to be lightly imputed to a
 “ great and magnanimous nation, which dares to

“ encounter a world, and risk its existence, for the
 “ preservation of its station in the scale of empires,
 “ of its real independence, and of its liberty.”

FROM the same source we learn, that the conduct of the American people had been such, and had been supported by the most powerful characters in the popular party, that the representation of the British minister to his own government could not tend to make them look to any other end than war. In the opinion of the learned author of the work before me, who was an eye-witness of the circumstances, hostilities between Great Britain and America, as the ally of France, could, from the circumstances which had existed in America, only be contemplated. From the language of Mr. Hammond, in his intercourse with the government of America, we are confirmed in this opinion.

IN the dismissal of Mr. Genet from his diplomatic situation, France seems to have lost an active agent. In the person of the secretary of state, who resigned soon after, she lost an able advocate.—The motive of his resignation seems difficult to be found out: was it because he had failed in his endeavours to embroil America with Great Britain, and throw her into the arms of France? “ His
 “ popularity was great, and seemed to arise from
 “ his opposition to Colonel Hamilton’s plan for

" paying off the debt; his *ardent and undisguised*
 " *attachment to the revolutionary party in France;*
 " *and the disposition which he has declared to possess*
 " *relative to Great Britain.*" These, it seems, were
 the amiable traits which rendered his character so
 popular.

PREVIOUS, however, to quitting office, he made
 a report on the subject of American commerce.—
 This report is particularly important, inasmuch as
 it seems to have been the rule which he then
 chalked out for himself, and which he has adhered
 to since with great perseverance. In it will be
 found the commercial scale by which his conduct
 squared since his accession to the chair of state.—
 The colonial regulations of Great Britain, though
 not in immediate terms, were alluded to as those
 that particularly called for the retaliating system.

FAITHFUL, however, to their leader, his parti-
 zans in the legislative body seemed to adhere to
 his sentiments. For we no sooner find him with-
 drawn from office, than we find them bringing for-
 ward resolutions, which were founded on the re-
 port; the ideas of which were fully embraced.—
 Mr. Madison, the present secretary of state, moved
 these resolutions. In a long and animated debate,
 it was proved by the friends of America and neu-

rality, that many of the data on which his report
 was grounded, were false; and that when there was
 a careful examination of the commerce of America,
 as it stood relative to Great Britain and France, it
 was discovered, that, with the former, the advanta-
 ges were greater than with the latter. In the de-
 bate, the determined, the obstinate hostility to
 Great Britain, appeared in glaring colours. The
 friendship for France was equally conspicuous.
 Calculations were coolly entered into to prove, that
 if Great Britain went to war in consequence of
 these resolutions, how many workmen would be
 thrown out of employ. And I can easily believe
 that these philanthropists would delineate how
 many of the wives and children of the starving me-
 chanics would perish; the *quantum* of distress it
 would occasion to the more wealthy individual;
 and the number of unfortunate wretches that must
 seek an asylum in the woods of America! These
 cool calculations entered doubtless into the hearts of
 these philanthropists, though perhaps they were not
 uttered by their tongues.

In the course of the debate, it was averred that
 Great Britain and her colonies were dependent on
 America for bread; for, in short, almost every ar-
 ticle which was necessary to the existence of Bri-
 tish commerce and manufacture. As an induce-

ment, thus to enact retaliating measures toward Great Britain, she was again charged with having instigated the Indian to the murder of the citizen of the frontier; and with having let loose the Algerine on the defenceless commerce of America. No malignant assertion, however unfounded; no accusation, however wild and incredible; but what seems to have been uttered by the popular party in Congress, and received by their adherents out of doors. On the other hand, in the conduct of revolutionary France were exhibited proofs of a magnanimity and generosity, that called for the most grateful return. The hand of friendship which she held out was not to be rejected, although it were tinged with a ten-times deeper red, than that which the horrors it had committed, had occasioned. Fortunately for them, the more moderate sentiments of the neutral party prevailed, although by a small majority. It ought however to be noticed, that it was in some measure owing to the celebrated order issued by the British government in November 1793, for the detention of provision ships, that their attention was diverted from the measures which were intended to be engrafted on the resolutions.

In addition to the provision order of November, there seems to have been just at this time a circum-

stance, which, by inducing the people of America to think that war with Great Britain was approaching, led them to project measures of reprisal. This is an important and too prominent a feature in their character to be omitted. It will serve as a very good barometer to indicate how high or low their spirit of hostility will arise at a future period in like circumstances. There was communicated to the American government a speech, said to have been made by Lord Dorchester to the Indians, in which he said, that in his opinion war was approaching between America and Great Britain. This was, however, unfounded. But, actuated by it, a motion seems to have been produced in the house of representatives, *for the sequestration of British debts.* In the debate on this motion, "their invectives against the British nation were uttered with peculiar vehemence." A "résistance," it was said, "of the feelings of the people for the cause of France, had been palatable food for British arrogance and presumption." Thus may the English nation see the species of hostility America is inclined to enter into. Is it to have the enemies of their country in the field? Is it to meet its foes on the ocean? No, it is that "system of cruel and insidious policy, which unfeelingly dooms individuals to chains, and involves them in ruin,

bind

without having a tendency to effect any national "object." Such is the system of American hostility. It is thus to sacrifice private and public honour on the altar of infamy, and replenish the coffers of the state with the perjuries of the individual.

THE recall of the order of November 1793, on the part of Great Britain, and the reasons which were given for its issuing, as well as the discovery of the error about Lord Dorchester's speech, suspended the resolution. The open, manly, liberal, and decided explanations, given on the subject by Lord Grenville; the profession of sincere friendship made by him, seems to have awakened in a few breasts some sparks of amiable feeling. On the popular party no effect whatever was obtained. Regarding with jaundiced eyes every measure of the British government, every one of its motives continued to be traced to a malignant source; every act of its administration was misrepresented. The popular feelings were excited in the most inflammatory way, through the medium of the press.

THE war with Great Britain did not seem to the moderate and neutral party, to be by any means the leading or greatest evil. The state of

the popular mind appears to have been such as to occasion a fear that the horrors of the French revolution would have been reached over them. Every atrocity of that momentous event, it seems to have been feared, would have found imitation. Thus would the woods of America been moistened with the blood of her citizens. For we learn from the eloquent author last quoted, "That war with Britain, during the continuance of the passionate and almost *idolatrous devotion* of a great majority of the people for the *French republic*, would throw America so completely into the arms of France, as to leave her no longer mistress of her own conduct, was not the only fear which the temper of the day suggested. *That the spirit which triumphed in that nation and deluged it with the blood of its revolutionary champions might cross the Atlantic, and desolate the hitherto safe and peaceful dwellings of the American people, was an apprehension not so entirely unsupported by appearances, as to be pronounced chimerical. With a blind infatuation, which treated reason as criminal, immense numbers applauded a furious despotism, trampling on every right, and sporting with human life as the essence of liberty; and the few who conceived freedom to be a plant which did not flourish the better for being nourished with human*

" blood, and who ventured to disapprove of the
 " ravages of the guillotine, were execrated as the
 " tools of the coalesced despots; and as persons,
 " who, to weaken the affection of America for
 " France, became the calumniators of that repub-
 " lic. Already had an imitative spirit, captivated
 " with the splendour, but copying the errors of a
 " great nation, reared up in every part of the
 " continent, self-created corresponding societies;
 " who, claiming to be the people, assumed a con-
 " troul over the constituted authorities, and were
 " loosening the bands of government. Already
 " were the mountain and a revolutionary tribunal,
 " favourite toasts; and already were principles
 " familiarly proclaimed, which, in France had
 " been the precursors of that tremendous and
 " savage despotism, which in the name of the
 " people, and by the instrumentality of affiliated
 " societies, had spread its terrific sway over that
 " fine country, and threatened to extirpate all
 " that was wise and virtuous. *That a great ma-*
 " *jority of* THOSE STATESMEN WHO CONDUCTED
 " THE OPPOSITION, WOULD DEPRECATE SUCH A
 " RESULT, *furnished no security against it. When*
 " *the physical force of a nation usurps the place of*
 " *its wisdom,* THOSE WHO HAVE PRODUCED SUCH
 " A STATE OF THINGS, *do not always retain the*
 " *power of controuling it."*

AWARE of this momentous fact, the prescient mind of Washington determined to stem the popular torrent, and to endeavour to oppose a barrier to the overwhelming stream of revolutionary enthusiasm. In order to attain this end, he embraced the earliest opportunity that the conciliating dispositions of Great Britain held out of arrangement and accommodation. This had been interrupted for a short time, owing to the provision order. But as soon as the cause of this order was explained, every doubt of the disposition of the British cabinet seems to have been removed. Availing himself, therefore, of this friendly disposition, we find him having recourse to the solemnity of an extraordinary embassy to the court of St. James's. In his choice of a gentleman to fill this important station, he seems to have consulted not only the interest of his own country, but to have gratified the ministers of Great Britain. The moderate and conciliating conduct of Mr. Jay, his total abstraction from any of the wild schemes that at that period pervaded every part of America, together with his great talents, seem to have eminently qualified him for the task. In proportion, however, as this appointment was beneficial to the country, and consistent with its real views, in the same degree were the popular party opposed to it. The ground they took, seems to have been that of

which they had long held possession. The prospect of a good understanding with the despotic government of Great Britain, revolted their pure and exalted minds.

Two days after the appointment of Mr. Jay in the house of representatives, they even brought forward some resolutions which went to destroy all intercourse with Great Britain. These, it seems, passed with a large majority, and were lost in the senate, *only* by the casting vote of the vice president.

SUCH, however, was the continuing friendly disposition of the American people toward France, and its proportionate hostility to Great Britain, that a bill simply to prevent the fitting out privateers in American ports, and preventing the sale of their prizes, was only carried in the senate by the casting vote of the vice president. In the house of representatives we find one of these

"Rabble senators and merchant kings,"

Endeavouring to reject a section in the bill, "which
"declared it to be a misdemeanour for a citizen
"to enlist within the United States, to serve
"against a friendly power." Such was the conduct of those who were well described, "as apostles of anarchy," who "sought to intoxicate the

“ people with principles which were incompatible
 “ with the existence of government.”

MR. JAY seems to have answered the expectation formed of him by General Washington. He succeeded in framing a code of regulations, which, though its existence was so limited, gave, during that existence, ample proofs of its not only being competent to its object, but beneficial in its effects to both parties. The conduct of the British minister appears also in an admirable light. Lord Grenville, aware of the irritation that existed, went through his office with a dignity that inspired respect, and at the same time conciliated esteem. Mr. Jay seems to have adopted a line of conduct also inspiring respect and esteem. Difficult as was his situation, his demeanour seems to have rendered it almost pleasant. The British government seems, when we view its conduct in a general light, to have acted with that temper and moderation that distinguish true greatness. The effect it wrought on the mind of Mr. Jay will be best displayed in his own words to General Washington. “ To do more was impossible. I ought not to conceal from you, that the confidence reposed in your personal character was visible and useful throughout the negociation.”——“ If there is not a good disposition in the far greater part of the cabinet

" and the nation towards us, I am exceedingly
 " mistaken. I do not mean an ostensible and
 " temporizing, but a *real good disposition*. I wish
 " it may have a fair trial."

THAT this treaty was conditionally ratified, need not now be said. There was reasonable grounds to hope, that when it was ratified, opposition would cease,* and misrepresentation would not be made. This expectation, however, was unfounded. The mode in which it had been made, the secrecy that had been observed relative to its contents, were the foundation of charges against the government by the popular party. Their predetermination on the subject is very evident, and consequently we are not to be surprised at the inflammatory and false representations which were made by the popular leaders in Congress, to their adherents out of doors. The affection for France was as unbounded as ever. Her victories and plunder of Flanders and Holland, were links that now (1795), bound the people of the two republics together, in the same way that her patriotic murders had heretofore (1793).

To exhibit how every branch of society in America co-operated to bring this treaty into contempt, we find them alledging, that it was "an abandon-

"ment of the ancient allies of the United States, " whose friendship had given them independence, " and *whose splendid victories still protected them, " for a close connection with their natural enemies, " and the enemies of human liberty.*" As an admirable comment on this their text, it is impossible to avoid mentioning one of their political wishes, given in the shape of a toast, at a meeting of patriotic citizens for celebrating the victories of France. This, it is to be recollected, was at a period they knew a treaty between America and Great Britain had been signed, and their legislative body about to meet, to say whether it should or should not be ratified. Under these circumstances we find, that " the shores of Great Britain " might hail the tri-coloured standard, and, that " the people might rend the air with shouts of " *live the republic.*"—This was one of their prayers.

A CIRCUMSTANCE is now to be mentioned, which will place the character of some of these virtuous republican legislators in an amiable light. The treaty was sent to the senate under an injunction of secrecy. One of these illustrious senators privately obtained a mutilated copy, and communicated it to the leading opposition print. Of such materials is this modern republican senate com-

posed ; a senate that presumes to possess a Tiber, and a Capitol. A Tiber and a Capitol, truly !—The one, however, is muddied with every modern impurity ; and the other is the lath and plaster production of modern fanaticism and political quackery. Surely the illustrious Burke had these self-called republicans in his eye, when he exclaimed, “ Oh
 “ venerable and illustrious shade, how art thou
 “ prostrated, defamed, and degraded ! O fabric,
 “ the labour of centuries, the mother of heroism,
 “ cemented by the blood of patriots, how art thou
 “ libelled and dishonoured ! As well might it be
 “ said, that the mutilated shadows of the opera
 “ house were the representatives of heroes, the
 “ true and perfect Cæsars, Catos, and Brutuses
 “ of Rome, as that so strange and discordant a
 “ chaos should be the representative of a real re-
 “ public.”

THE public transactions which attended the ratification of the treaty were such as to claim our attention. The concessions of Great Britain were neither sufficient in effect or in avowal. She had not agreed to remove the basis upon which her naval strength and national glory rested. She had not opened her West India ports to the vessels of the United States in the same manner she did when they were colonies. In short, she had not bowed

to America as the superior power, as the government paramount in the western world. These and similar charges were made against the government. Meetings were held in which the most intemperate resolutions were entered into. At Philadelphia they paraded to the house of the British minister and consul, and burned the treaty before their faces. An American senator who had voted for its ratification, was honoured with a similar mark of respect. At these meetings addresses were voted to the government, and the press teemed with essays, addressed to the passions of the multitude.

THE determination and firmness of Washington's character could not be overcome by any popular tumult or violent expression. His opinion on the subject remained the same. This firmness seems, however, to have been a signal for attacks on his character, which were made in a still more undisguised way than heretofore. He was now characterized as a tool of Britain, and they proclaimed *him* a speculator. Where is the gratitude of man to be met with? Posterity will refuse to believe that such baseness as this could exist. "Rank and rotten as is the soil," this, the conduct of these American republicans will not be credited by after ages.

To those who are unacquainted with the American system of government, it may be necessary to say, that the constitution vests the treaty-making power in the president and senate. The popular body have no claim to any discussion on the subject, farther than its being necessary, as in the House of Commons, for money bills to originate with them. Hence, they may be supposed to have a nominal influence. This estrangement of the treaty-making power, has with many of the states been considered a great grievance. The light in which this part of their system is viewed will be seen by their subsequent conduct. At the next meeting of Congress the president's speech communicated to them the state of their foreign relations. Among the circumstances mentioned in the speech was the British treaty. An address of thanks was voted for the speech, but the party which was opposed to the treaty was so powerful, that they succeeded in publicly communicating to the president, their disapprobation of it. It now became a fresh point, whence they made their attacks on their own and the British government.

THE final step on the part of the president to give, according to accustomed usage, the treaty a place among the laws of the land, it was necessary, now that the British ratification was arrived,

to communicate it to the public by a proclamation. This was done, and the instrument declaring it to be binding on the citizens of the United States, was communicated to the House of Representatives. The popular party in this body had received an accession of strength by recent elections. It was now, therefore, they thought a favourable opportunity to revive a subject which had heretofore excited warm discussion. This was the treaty-making power. The bringing forward this measure was as ample a proof of folly, as of weakness, if vice may not be added. They determined to request the president to lay before them his "instructions to the minister," the "correspondence," and "other documents relative to the said treaty." The question on this subject was carried by a majority of twenty-five voices.

In this measure the popular party seem to have had many objects. The nature of the power granted to the president and senate, at the period of the formation of the constitution, was well known to them; to be such that the papers not only might, but ought, to be refused them. But their principal object was obtained. This was to render the president unpopular; to mark him as the agent of Great Britain; and thus to add in the popular mind additional hatred to both. The people they

knew would receive it with ardour. The firmness of Washington they were as well acquainted with. This they flattered themselves would make him believed to be still more hostile to France, and still more willing to throw the country into the arms of Great Britain. The result proved the correctness of their calculations. He peremptorily refused them the papers they asked for, and gave strong reasons for this refusal. In the minds of reasonable men, opposition and clamour would have been silenced. On these factious demagogues, the effect was contrary. The little personal respect that still remained for him was now dissipated. The chain of their connection was now broken. Washington, because he would not obey the mandates of a licensed mob, was unworthy the confidence of a nation, in whose service he had spent the best days of his life.

STILL inflexibly adhering to the determination of breaking with Great Britain, we find the same spirit in the popular party, when the laws which were necessary to, carry the treaty with effect came to be discussed by them. These were only carried by a majority of three.

THE period of Washington's resignation now approached. It was the signal for active and ardent contention. The moderate and neutral party

were supported by General Washington, and his friends. The other party had at this time an accession of strength in the character of M. Adet. Taking advantage of the party heat excited, he avows the instructions he had received from the executive Directory, to suspend his functions as minister. To communicate these, he writes an ardent and animated letter to the secretary of state. A copy of this letter was sent to a printer's for publication. In this attempt to aid the popular party, M. Adet seems, however, to have been disappointed. The impudence of the attack was so glaring, that it silenced the most violent of the popular, and gave additional vigour to the efforts of the moderate party, which was successful in the election of Mr. Adams.

AMERICA was now to lose her best friend. Human nature was also to be deprived of her greatest ornament, at least in the walks of public life. The treatment, however, of this great man, affords a useful lesson to all those who think that applause for real virtue can be obtained, for any length of time, from that uninformed mass called "the people." His last political act was a detail of French aggression. Still, upon his political death bed, did the malignant efforts of the popular party, endeavour to ruffle that unclouded serenity with

which a consciousness of having walked in the paths of honour inspired him. " To misrepresent my motives, to reprobate my politics, and to weaken the confidence which has been reposed in my administration, are objects which cannot be relinquished by those who will be satisfied with nothing short of a change in our political system. The consolation, however, which results from conscious rectitude, and the approving voice of my country, unequivocally expressed by its representatives, deprives their sting of its poison, and places in the same point of view, both the weakness and malignity of their efforts." Such were his words but a day before he laid down his administration. Such were his feelings; such the conduct of the people he had governed, to a man, to whom the gratitude of the ancient world would have erected temples.

THE next event which claims our attention is, the treatment of General Pinckney, whose appointment as minister to France, in the place of Mr. Monroe, had been one of the last, and not one of the least unpopular acts of Washington. The recall of Mr. Monroe seems to have given great umbrage. The reception of General Pinckney by M. Talleyrand, and the pecuniary preliminaries which were declared necessary to a treaty, are too

well recollected to need any particular notice. In America this seemed to have afforded a breathing time to some of the popular party. With others, the Gallo mania was only smothered for a short time. It was dormant, as the party was now preparing for exertions at the period which they hoped would put them into possession of power. Their attention being directed to this object, together with their knowledge of the firm system of Washington, being still the guide of the government, also tended to keep them quiet. Of course, the name and the subject of Great Britain ceased for this short period to be the theme of their abuse.

THE period at length arrived, when it pleased Him "by whom nations and empires rise and fall, "flourish and decay," to remove a statesman, whose character was as eminent, as his integrity was unsullied. Washington was in the year 1799, conveyed to the silent tomb.

THUS was the death blow given to the only system that could insure to America her political existence. The election succeeding his death the popular party obtained the ascendancy, and appointed to the supreme situation a gentleman whose sentiments with regard to America, as well as her foreign connections, may be learned from

these pages. Of the popular party he had ever been the leader. His earliest appointment was that of an individual to the secretaryship of the treasury, who had been the avowed agent in an insurrection which had cost the government a quarter of a million. Another early act of his administration was, his patronage of the celebrated Paine, to distinguish whom, he invited him to take a passage in a man of war, assuring him of his wishes that his life might be prolonged, to enable him to pursue "*his useful labours.*" The "*useful labours*" he had more recently been engaged in were, the "*Age of Reason,*" and a libel on General Washington. Round these standards president Jefferson led him to hope the Americans would rally.

THE next event to which I think it necessary to allude, is one which, however it may be deemed a repetition of past charges, will still, nevertheless, be found to be an important feature in the character I have attempted to draw. I now allude to the convention of 1802, relative to the payment of the debts due by America to British subjects. Such was the difficulty for individuals to obtain payments, that government agreed to receive £600,000 as a compensation for £5,000,000. This Conven-

tion was one of the earliest acts of president Jefferson's administration.

FROM that period there seems to have been but little difference on the part of the American government. It will be well to inquire what are now the subjects of her complaints. The impression of seamen, and the declaration of the British government, relative to the blockading decree. The first measure gave rise to the celebrated non-importation act. By a principal member of the popular party in America, it was declared to be a war measure. Notwithstanding this, it was passed into a law. The discussions which took place on it, were accompanied with their usual intemperate violence against this country. The bill which was introduced into Congress to sanction the execution of British officers, who were merely obeying the spirit and letter of their instructions, will long be remembered. The declarations about the same period of a Mr. Crowninshield, that the confiscation of British debts was a necessary duty, will not speedily be forgotten. That liberal gentleman entered into a calculation, to prove how much property belonging to English subjects there was in America. Public funds, &c. he estimated at ten millions sterling. On being reminded that this was in defiance of the treaty of 1794, he very

adroitly replied, that Great Britain could not expect that part of the treaty to be fulfilled, as by the impressment of American seamen, and her hinderance to navigation under the American flag, she herself had infringed it*.

RELATIVE to the adoption of seamen, it is notoriously known, that the channels of perjury are, as they have been for years, still open for the obtaining certificates of American citizenship. It is only necessary for one sailor to get another to swear for him, that he was born in such a place, and a certificate is granted. Those who know how the American ships are manned, cannot but aver that they have seen the most damning proofs of this fact. It has now arisen to that height, that men speaking most palpably the provincial dialects of England, Ireland, and Scotland, are to be seen thus protected. Nay, in some instances, are the subjects of her faithful majesty, who carry their nation in their face, also protected. Is the British government tamely to acquiesce in this robbery of her seamen? Let the question be put to any of his Majesty's of-

* To no one class of British subjects, ought these reflections to be more especially addressed than to the stock holder, who, for a little additional interest, has invested his property in the American funds. Let him stand upon his guard!

ficers, whose ships are obliged to go into American ports, if it is possible for them [to keep their seamen? They will reply in the negative.

So far are the acts of the government of the same nature, as the previous principles of the party holding the reins indicated they would be. The dispositions of individuals remain the same, though their expression of them is less felt, as they know the ascendancy which Mr. Jefferson has obtained to be such as to render any efforts of theirs unnecessary.

BUT the acts of this government that have been so tamely acquiesced in by the people, will claim our notice. I mean the votes for money which has been advanced to France. Not two years since two millions of dollars were appropriated toward the negociation, which it *was said*, the government had entered into for the Floridas. The minority in America have often asked the question—To what purpose they have been applied? No farther reply has been given, than an observation in the president's late message, in which he notices the delay in the negociations with Spain, and concludes by saying, that "it will be necessary to wait, in order to see whether negociations are to

" be protracted in Europe, while hostilities are to be pressed in America." That this money, if gone to France, is a palpable infraction of neutrality, cannot be doubted. That *it is gone* into the coffers of Buonaparté, I think, there can be as little doubt. Mr. Randolph declared in his place in Congress, that the secretary of state told him that France " wanted money and must have it*."

It is not the business of this country any more than it is its inclination, to interfere with the domestic affairs of a foreign nation. But when that nation is seen as the secret ally of our enemies, and is known, under pretences of purchases of territory never intended to be delivered, and of debts long since liquidated, to be supplying her with money, it is time to speak out. It is time for the nation to make itself heard, and in a way

* The last report on finance contains the following item.

" The two million of dollars, making provision for defraying any *extraordinary* intercourse between the United States and foreign nations, 2,000,000.

" N. B. It is here proper to state, that under the authority given by that act, a *credit has been opened in Holland* to the minister of the United States, appointed to that with Spain." In America it is believed, that a part of it was sent in specie, direct from New York to France, in the *Hornet*, a sloop of war, which was fitted out under pretence of taking out a *Consul General* to *Paris*.

too, that the spirit and independence for which it is celebrated, shall indite.

IN the annals of independent nations, there are not to be found documents, which contain such "damning proofs" of the subservience of one power to another, as a late communication of the French minister to the president of the United States. A claim which arose in 1776, when France and England were at peace, but when the late unfortunate king was supplying (in a secret manner and through third persons) money to the American government; this claim, in defiance of the most authentic documents to prove its payment, has been brought forward by Buonaparté. It was accompanied with a note, which, had it been presented by a British minister, would have roused the continent from one end to the other. The claim was a million of livres.

I HAVE thus detailed a series of facts relative to that genuine and fixed hostility on the part of the American people, from the commencement of their existence as an independent nation, down to the present period. In this detail, I flatter myself, I have brought conviction to the mind of every unprejudiced reader, that my opinions are founded in justice. As, however, it may be possible for a

supposition to arise, that I have a wish to have it believed not improper to interfere in the concerns of the government of that country, I think it right to enter a protest against such a sentiment being entertained.

A FEW questions will, on a review of these circumstances, arise in the breast of every reader. The leading one will be—Whence arises this prospect of hostility?

THE leading cause is, that magnanimity, that forbearance, and that moderation, which for the past twenty-four years have prevailed in the British cabinet. In this magnanimity they have beheld weakness, in this forbearance they have imagined pusillanimity, and in this moderation they have perceived fear. An apprehension that our manufacturing and colonial interests would suffer by a contest with them, has been in their minds the reason why no strenuous and active measures have been taken, to assure them they were wrong. Look at their newspapers, newspapers too, under the immediate patronage of people of property and character, (if character they can be said to possess), and what will be discovered but a series of libels on the laws, on the constitution, and on the people of this country? Whether the monarch, his family, or his subjects, are the objects of this ani-

madversion, the libellous spirit of it is the same. From the highest to the lowest circumstance, their hatred of the English character extends. It is rooted in their minds, it is interwoven in every ligament of their hearts. Incredible as it may seem to the inhabitants of this country; astonished as they may be who do not know America, and are not acquainted with the character of its citizens; to hear of this island being the scene of anarchy and confusion, and that anarchy and confusion arising from French conquest, would be to them a source of unutterable joy; it would be to them the approach of a political millenium.

IN this country when these representations are made, it is a common circumstance to reply, that such is their accustomed violence of expression, that an allowance must be made for them. Judge them not therefore by their public prints, but go into their domestic circles, and where will you find one that there is not some libellous aspersion on the British character. It pervades the country.

THERE is another remark which is as frequently made as the one just mentioned. This is, that it is their interest to be upon the best terms with us. To this I have to reply, that, when the human mind has arrived at a certain pitch of depravity,

interest ceases to be consulted with necessary caution. That the Americans have reached this pitch of depravity, in their private as well as public character, is a fact too well established to admit of question. This language may be deemed too strong. Whether it is so or no, let any one who knows the American character, who has penetrated into the recesses of American hearts, pronounce. He will, I know, pronounce it not the least too forcible.

WHAT will be the event of the present circumstances? The event will be suspension of intercourse. Whether, when that intercourse is stopped, and the Americans feel their great dependence on Great Britain, and the little dependence which Great Britain has upon them; that little dependence rendered still less, by the avidity* with which they will continue their commerce through other channels, they will or will not come to a sense of their true interests; remains to be determined. Should, however, their affection for France induce

* During the embargo in 1798, which did not apply to their coasting trade, the northern and eastern vessels were accustomed to clear out for the southern ports. As soon as they were out of sight of land, there were many of them blown by a *convenient* gale of wind across the gulph stream, and obliged to go in distress into a West India island. At least the author has heard this as a fact from their captains.

them to overlook their true interests, the circumstances will call for the "*fortiter in re*," on the part of the British government. The "*suaviter in modo*" has been tried for the last twenty years, and by men of different opinions, sufficiently to prove its inefficacy. When they feel this, when they know that our constitution will not be sacrificed to our commerce. Nay more, when they know that a suspension of intercourse would oblige Great Britain to obtain other sources of supply for her manufactories and colonies; and that these sources are already known, and do but require a small proportion of British capital and industry to render them productive in the supply of our wants: when they know these things, they will perhaps pause, if it be not too late. We learn from themselves "That
 " the product of America grows in other soils than
 " hers: The demands may be supplied from other
 " countries. And we may ask them what they will
 " do with the surplus profit of the United States?
 " Is it to remain in the country and rot upon the
 " hands of those who raised it?"

LET therefore the attention of the people of this country be bent, not upon the idea of a temporary and frail compact with a people, who will take every advantage of Great Britain being involved in European war, to harass and distress her; but

upon a determination to render themselves independent of a connection with a people as capricious, as unprincipled. Gracious God! one would think (to use the words of one of their own legislators) "to hear their declarations, that all
" men were fed at the opening of their hands;
" and if they shut that hand, the nations starve;
" and if they shake the fist after it be shut, they
" die."

No! thanks to a Gracious Providence who has conferred fertility throughout the habitable world, there are in South America and on the coasts of Africa, more especially at the Cape of Good Hope, sufficient sources of supply. They want but cultivation.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE writer of the preceding remarks is apprehensive, that a complaint will be made against him, which has been brought, and with great justice, against the majority of modern reformers and projectors; that of pulling down one building without erecting another. In order to meet this objection, which he fears will be made, in consequence of the conclusion being so little occupied with a detail of the sources whence are to be drawn, the necessary supplies for our manufactories and colonies, he thinks it proper to add, that the principal object of this pamphlet was to awaken the people of these islands from a dream which continued spells had thrown them into, of a discovery of a land "flowing with milk and honey" on the other side of the Atlantic. To clear away these mists which had enveloped their understandings, and bewildered their ideas, was his principal object.

THIS wish induced him to compress this pamphlet as much as possible, in order that it might be within the compass of persons whose situation in life, either from pecuniary circumstances, or from little leisure, are not enabled to purchase, or to bestow the time necessary for the perusal of works which would, if not so expensive and voluminous, sufficiently open the eyes of the inhabitants of this country to the real character of the people, and the nature of the government, of the United States. The works he more particularly alludes to are, the last volume of "Judge Marshall's Life of Washington," and "Mr. Jansen's Stranger in America."

HENCE, it is not to be inferred, that there are not ample sources, which the author can point out, and on the best authority, whence our manufactories and colonies can be fully supplied. This branch of the subject he is fully prepared to lay before the public, should there appear to be a disposition on their part to receive a project of the sort.

THE countries whence he proposes to draw those necessaries have already been mentioned. These remarks will therefore, he flatters himself, excite the attention of every branch of society. More

especially now, that a source of great mercantile enterprise, which occupied a large quantity of tonnage, is closed. The African association also will find their object the civilization of Africa, hitherto the abode of ignorance and object of violence, assisted. The ci-devant African merchant and the general ship owner, will also find their interest forwarded, as their tonnage would find employment in the supposed sources of supply.

THE treatment of Captain Love in Charleston, was not known until the preceding pages had been written. Hence, the reason of the following observations being introduced as an

ADDITIONAL POSTSCRIPT.

THE world has already seen the (a respect for the common decorums of polished society precludes a characteristic term) communications of an officer of the American government, to Captain Love, of H. M. S. Driver. The reply of that gentleman breathes the spirit of a country, that can boast of many such ardent and loyal defenders. This impotent (for the Fort from which Captain Love was to be fired upon, has not ten feet of regular fortification, or a gun properly mounted) insult, it seems, took place in consequence of a proclamation of pre-

sident Jefferson's—In consequence of a proclamation of president Jefferson's! Let the reader mark this. Then let him ask what is the effect of a proclamation of president Washington's? The object of that proclamation was, not to deny the rights which the hospitality of nations, in consequence of their being at peace, gives to the ships of the respective powers; but to prevent America becoming, in the hands of France, a means of aggression to Great Britain: it was a proclamation announcing the neutrality of America, and calling upon her citizens to observe that neutrality. Did it not require all the energy of the government to ensure common respect to it? Was it not denounced by the popular party, the party now in power, as an "unconstitutional act;" as a "stretch of power;" as a "violation of treaties that existed between America and France;" as "an edict that ought to be classed with those of royalty, and therefore, not to be tolerated in a republican government." Did they not give a very ample illustration of their opinion on the subject, by acquitting an American citizen, who, *contrary to the law of nations and of America*, had been found in arms against Great Britain? Did not a grand jury refuse to find a bill against a French consul, who, in defiance of the government, used an armed force, in the first instance to arrest, from

the hands of the American officer, and in the second, to keep possession of, a British prize brought into Boston, contrary to the *law of nations and of America?*

To return to Captain Love. How in the name common sense was he to be aware of the proclamation? Had Great Britain submissively registered it among the laws and edicts of her government, and her sovereign, whose orders and instructions only a British officer is bound to obey? Is the hull of a ship to be interdicted? In short, does the law of nations recognize *such a proclamation, as immutable law?* If it does, how fortunate are we, that the squadron under Captain Whitby consisted of so few ships; as, upon the principle that every ship of a squadron is to suffer for the act of one, a very great number might be interdicted. It seems the American government would now have us to understand, that the Leander, the Cambrian, and the Driver, who ever may be their commanders or crew, are neither of them to be employed in a service in which there shall be a possibility of their entering into the ports of the United States. For if they do, whatever be their situation, whether they are perishing from hunger and thirst, or are the victims of a merciless ocean, the rights of humanity are to be denied them.

ADDENDUM.

SINCE the preceding pages have been with the printer, accounts have reached town of the *arrival at Falmouth of the American secretary of legation with the treaty not ratified. Yes, the treaty has been brought back not ratified.* The question will now therefore be to be put, whether the terrors of the *non-importation act, which takes place the 14th December*, are sufficient to induce government to yield more than has already been yielded to this people. The question will be to be put to the merchant, whether the naval force, the basis on which our constitution now rests, is to be sacrificed to the temporary convenience, for temporary it can only be, of our commerce. Every patriotic man will reply in the negative. Each will recollect that our naval force, now that continental Europe is at the feet of a merciless conqueror, is all that we can look to for support, and thanks to that Gracious Providence that has so often vouchsafed his protection to this envied island, it is a resource whence ample supplies may be justly expected. This is a period when an urgent appeal must be made to the feeling (to their interests will not be necessary) of every class of his Majesty's subjects. This ap-

peal will meet with a response worthy the inhabitants of a nation, which, a firm and well-grounded reliance on their ability to exert themselves efficaciously, enables them to make. Hence, we have the strongest grounds to believe, that the attempts of the American government to obtain more favourable terms in consequence of the present state of Europe, will be unavailing.

THAT the late and present administrations, however unfortunately for the country they may differ on other subjects, will agree on this point, there can be little doubt. The conduct of Lord Howick on the intercourse act, warrants the opinion that he will not be backward in supporting those measures, to which, after having drained the cup of conciliation, we are now compelled to have recourse. The conduct of Lord Grenville during the whole of his public life, and more particularly, those periods to which the preceding pages allude, also warrants our opinion, that he will support such measures as shall teach America, that Great Britain is not yet so "fallen from her high estate," as to listen to the dictates of a power so inferior. The powers of this country united, cannot fail of convincing America that her speculations are false. When her subjects come to look at their weak and defenceless situation, and contemplate an energetic system of measures on the part of this



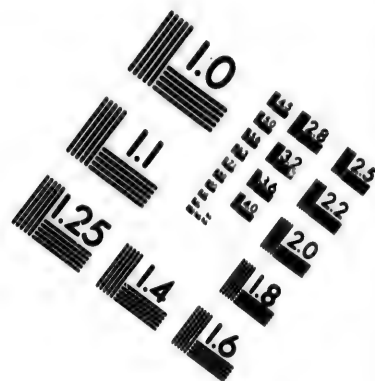
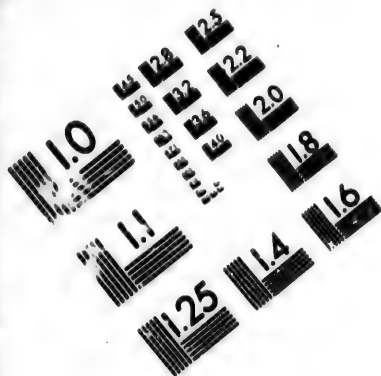
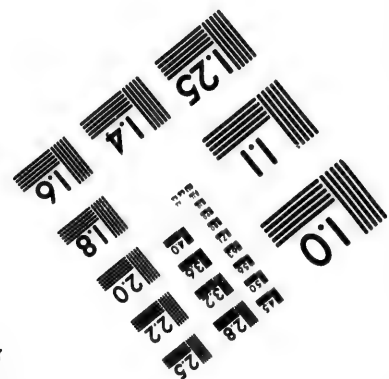
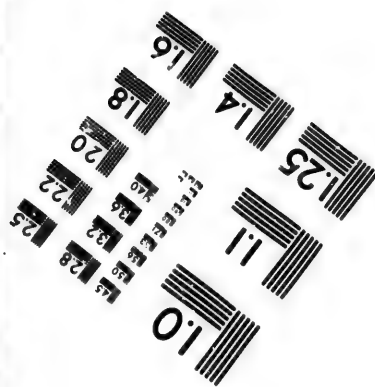
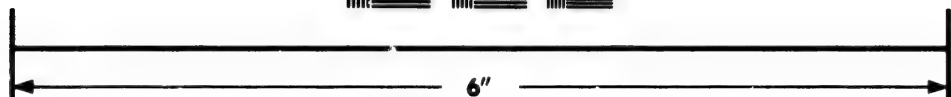
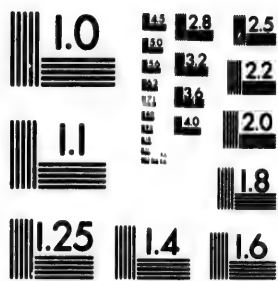


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country, they will "shrink back upon themselves, and startle at destruction."

WITH a possible prospect then of an extension of this already extensive war, let us look forward to a system of vigour, which, by appalling the strong, shall crush the weak.—Let the hearts and hands of every class of his majesty's subjects, be united in support of their household gods. Let them recollect, that they are now fighting an enemy whose object is not only the annihilation of our system of government, but the destruction of the British name. Let them recollect that it is not a magnanimous and enlightened Cæsar, bringing with him the arts that embellish life, the sciences that elevate the mind, the courtesies that adorn humanity; but, an Attila whose every step is marked with blood, who is followed as closely and inevitably by devastation and destruction as his own shadow. Let them recollect, that from him nothing can be expected but inhumanity. From his acts nothing can arise, but perfidy, cruelty, and revenge. Whether it be the monarch on the throne, or the peasant in his cottage, the ferocious fiend will alike feed his infernal appetite,

"Increasing with what it fed on,"

With the blood of the unfortunate victim. Let them recollect it is now no paltry contest for an

island in the Pacific, or a rock in the Mediterranean; it is a contest for every thing which is dear to man, whatever be his situation in life. For the preservation of those invaluable blessings, let our prayers be offered up to Him, to whom alone belongs,

“ The weak to strengthen, and confound the strong.”

That He may again vouchsafe to us His Omnipotent protection of OUR COUNTRY, OUR CONSTITUTION, AND OUR KING.

ERRATA.

Page 17 line 16 *for* **upleasing** *read* **unpleasing.**

.... 37 ... 17 ... much **great.**

.... 38 ... 20 ... passages **presages.**

.... 55 ... 14 ... delineate **calculate.**

.... 57 ... 23 ... have **brave.**

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Letter from Mr. Jefferson, late Minister of the United States to France and Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs, to a Citizen of Virginia.

(From the *Moniteur* of Jan. 25, 1797.)

This Letter, literally translated, is addressed to M. Mazzei, Author of Researches Historical and Political upon the United States of America, now resident in Tuscany.

Florence, January 1.

“ OUR political situation is prodigiously changed since
 “ you left us. Instead of that noble love of liberty, and that republican government which carried us through the dangers of the
 “ war, an Anglo-monarchio-aristocratic party has arisen. Their
 “ avowed object is to impose on us the *substance*, as they have
 “ already given us the *form* of the British government. Nevertheless, the principal body of our citizens remain faithful to
 “ republican principles. All our proprietors of lands are friendly
 “ to those principles, as also the men of talents. We have against
 “ us (republicans), the *executive power*, the *judiciary power*, (two
 “ out of three branches of the government); *all the officers of*
 “ *government, all who are seeking offices, all timid men, who prefer*
 “ *the calm of despotism to the tempestuous sea of liberty; the British*
 “ *merchants, and the Americans who trade on British capitals; the*
 “ *speculators, and persons interested in the bank and public funds.*—
 “ Establishments invented with views of corruption, and to assimilate us to the British model in all its corrupt parts.

“ I SHOULD give you a fever if I were to name the apostates who
 “ have embraced these heresies; men who were Solomons in council, and Sampsons in combat; but whose hair has been cut off by
 “ the W...e of England.

“ THEY would wrest from us that liberty which we have obtained with so much labour and peril; but we shall preserve it.
 “ Our mass of weight and riches is so powerful, that we have no-

" thing to fear from an attempt against us by force. It is sufficient that we guard ourselves, and that we break the Lilliputian ties by which they have bound us, in the first slumbers that succeeded our labours. It suffices that we arrest the progress of that system of ingratitude and injustice toward France, from which they would alienate us, to bring us under British influence."

Porcupine's Works.

(Signed) TH. JEFFERSON.

TO give an idea of the state of dependence in which America is for the consumption of her staples, the author has thought proper to add the following fact:

THAT from the 3d to the 24th of June, there were imported into Liverpool, in fifty-four ships—

18,337 Bags of Cotton, which, at 250lb. per bag,			
and 2s. per lb. is	£ 458,425	0	0
82,336 Bushels of Wheat, at 6s. per bushel, is	24,000	0	0
40,935 Barrels of Flour, at 30s. per barrel, is	60,592	0	0
Total	£ 543,017	0	0

It is to be farther observed, that the American merchants have already availed themselves of two-thirds the value of this, by drawing bills. Hence their great dependence upon us for a capital which they obtain by this permission to draw.

THE END.

W. M'Dowall, Printer,

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"OIL WITHOUT VINEGAR."

THE Americans who have happened to be in England since the dispute that has arisen between the two countries bore a serious aspect, have hitherto trusted the pleading of their cause to the enlightened Editor of the Morning Chronicle, and the temperate writer of the Independent Whig. In these gentlemen they have found able advocates. Whether they have or have not given them general retainers, I am unable to say, but such, from the language of the former*, we may believe to be the

* See the liberal strictures and candid suppositions of this paper of September 28, on the subject of the Hon. G. Berkeley, and the Court Martial on the deserter.

case. There is, however, it appears, one solitary individual of this country, who thinks that he can wield the pen better than either. One of the methods by which this oily author would wish to effect this, is to profess impartiality, and a similar affection for both countries. This is mighty plausible; but he must forgive me if I say, that in England we are not so philosophical in our ideas, as to wish that any one may possess an affection for other countries than his own. He will also excuse me if I tell him that I cannot allow to him to possess the place of an Equity Judge; but I am forced to place him below the Bench, as an Old Bailey Lawyer, who has a bad cause to defend, and makes the best use of the talents he possesses, to defend it.

He introduces this subject by noticing the "*strange fatality*" that has brought the countries so near a rupture. That this "*strange fatality*" exists, there is no doubt; that it arises from the part taken by Mr. Jefferson and his associates; that it springs from the determined hostility of that gentleman and his partizans to Great Britain; that these are the causes of this "*fatality*," is clearly proved from the preceding pages. Let the oily author of this pamphlet take the trouble to examine them, and the authorities whence they are deduced,

and the business will be rendered as clear to him as the sun at noon day.

PEOPLE in America, or Americans in Europe, whenever they speak of European institutions always confuse their understandings, and render their opinions objects of derision, by talking about the "Law of Nature." "The constitution of the United States," say they, "is founded on the social contract, and the law of nature." The African is brought from the coast, flogged, and murdered, according to the "social contract," and the "law of nature." Fraudulent bankruptcies take place agreeable to the "law of nature." Fathers murder sons, sons assassinate fathers, mothers massacre their children*, according to the "law of nature." So this author. Thou Nature art my Goddess, does he exclaim, and with one blow kicks down all other laws but the "law of nature," which he avers never can be appealed to in vain. It must be allowed, however, that he has a more powerful inducement to destroy those written laws and institutions, that have been venerated for ages, and received as oracles. This is, that America did

* These horrid circumstances have occurred in America. But it is not to be wondered at in a country where there is so total an absence of all principle, moral and religious. See Ross's Compendium of Geography.

not then exist as a nation, but does now. Arguments here will be of little utility, in the inquiry, whether the laws and customs of nations are to be governed by "practicability," which "justice is "to guide" *as much as possible*. This "practicability, probability," and "possibility," of justice, are plants that may, and indeed do thrive in American courts and legislatures, but will not exist in England.—As a proof, however, of the impartiality of this author, he says he is "tolerably" so, he tells us that Great Britain *may probably sink* in the contest, but that America *must be benefited*.

THIS oily author, next proceeds to give us his opinions about citizenship, the colonial and navigation laws. The "importance" of the first, he says, "is greatly exaggerated." "*No act of one country can free a man from his allegiance to his own sovereign.*" This is allowed; but this acute reasoner adds, what is "this allegiance?" According to this modern Grotius, it ceases as soon as the subject leaves his own country, except as to "bearing arms." This is a "*fragment of allegiance.*"—He proceeds then to tell us that we have no right to demand a deserter even if he has infringed this "fragment" of the allegiance he owes to his country. Let the result of the affair between the Leopard and the Chesapeake, let the proceedings of the Court Martial on the deserter, be the commentary.

on the text of this learned writer. It will not, however, be amiss to notice his assertion, that Great Britain has a "*small interest*" in the question.—Fifteen thousand seamen, (if not more) a small interest!!! Bravo, Mr. Oilman.

"Injury," this writer thinks, "was added to insult;" and the parading the men at Norfolk was done "to produce disturbance." In this he is most correct. The whole affair, as has been clearly proved in another publication*, has been the premeditated act of the Gallo-American government.

MAINTAINING that "circumstances" alone ought to govern "our colonial laws," (he had better have termed them customs) he tells us, that the "rights" of the mother country are the jargon of the day;" and that we have no right to regulate the trade of our colonies. These data he very soon establishes, though he tells us directly afterwards, we have the right of "*governing and legislating*," but have no right to pass laws to oblige them to send their produce to any one given port. What then is legislating? and what is government, if it does not consist in the controul of the subject?

* "The Lie Direct; or, a Refutation of the Proclamation of President Jefferson."

He now comes to propose his remedy, a remedy for which his Majesty's ministers will be infinitely obliged to him. It is simply this—To enable the planter to pay his duty in the West Indies, sell his produce there, whence it is to be taken to America, where, of course, preference is to be given to American bottoms, in which it is to be brought to Europe. The oilman must excuse my saying, that words on this subject would be wasted. How muddled must be the understanding of the writer, seriously to propose such a system.

Of the navigation laws he next treats. The length and breadth of his arguments are, that the whole system is an *ignis fatuus*; that we may run some risk of our existence in defending them; and that they ought to be "accommodated to circumstances." He displays his little knowledge, on the subject of tonnage; and exhibits his ignorance, if he thinks every reader will not detect the fallacy of his reasoning.

He next honours those members of the House of Commons who composed the committee on West India commerce, with telling them they have made "gross misrepresentations, contradictory statements, and displayed a disgusting affectation of accuracy." To prove this he quotes a few paragraphs from the report. He has forgotten, however, to

tell us, that the committee, after a mature consideration of *all* the evidence, declared—that “ *the grand and primary evil from which all the others are easily to be deduced, was the facility of intercourse between the hostile colonies and Europe, under the American neutral flag.*” If he had read the report, he would not have libelled the West India planters, by asserting that they wish to coalesce with America. Forsake the government of Britain for that of America! How miserably he deceives himself!!

He now proceeds to tell his countrymen a few of the disadvantages that they will experience, if war takes place. They ought to be much obliged to him for what he has done, but would have been more so had he not so much blinked the question. This, however, is done in order to arrive at a more favourite part of his subject—the injury Great Britain will sustain. Canada, he says, will be lost to her. That this province, if undefended, may sink under the overwhelming attack of the American peasantry, cannot be doubted; but a comparatively small force will be sufficient to defend it, such is the character of the inhabitants, and such their unwillingness to exchange British government for American anarchy.

THE greatest disadvantage, however, to Great

Britain, is to be privateering, for which, he says, and with truth, America is well situated, and Americans well calculated. There is no doubt of this fact; there is no doubt, that such is the predatory spirit in that country, that it is a system to which they would with pleasure have recourse. The ports of North America, like the ports of North Africa, are filled with Irish renegadoes, with Scotch seditionists, and with English outlaws, who will join their American brethren in the chase of the unarmed, unprotected merchant ship. The genius of their government countenances the project; and under the present President it will meet with most ample patronage. But let both the President and this wild author, who are both privateering mad, try their luck. Let them send out a few of their seven hundred corsairs, and see if they can lull the suspicions, or evade the activity, of those brave officers to whom the British flag is consigned for protection!

A MORE ample reply to this writer, who is so grossly ignorant as to talk of Jamaica being within two hundred miles of the American coasts, need not to be made. I shall only say—" *ab uno disce omnes.*"

THERE is one circumstance to which this writer alludes, as a necessary consequence of an American

war; this is a revolt of the slaves. Is this a hint, that there are spirits in America who would excite it? If it is, let them call their recollection to the state of their own southern provinces. Let them ask their cotton planters how they will like to enter into this infernal conspiracy.

"BUT your West India islands will be starved, because we shall shut our ports." Shut your ports, if you can; prevent your merchants supplying us in a partial degree, if it is in your power. Recollect what your Mr. Randolph said in your legislature. Hear his counsel; it is that of wisdom.—Force Great Britain into a war, and she will find ample sources of supply; not only of provisions for her West India colonies, but cotton for her manufactures. The facilities for these products exist in South Africa*, where your democracy, your "law of nature," has no sway; where your lawless systems are unknown; and whence it may be brought protected under, and protecting the British flag. Where then will be your cotton plantations, which have been the only means of your southern swamps not having become deserted? Such is the language which I would hold to America, as to our means of supplying our colonies. As to her ability to go into a war, I would repeat to her what has been

* "Softly, brave Yankees; or, the West Indies rendered independent of America."

told her by one of her own statesmen, William Loughton Smith, Esq. to whose able pen we are indebted for the following lines:—

“ Much as they may bluster, depend upon it,
 “ they have not *the nerves* to execute any hostile
 “ act. Let us examine in detail these menaces; an
 “ *embargo* would produce among themselves gene-
 “ ral distress and discontent—a *non-intercourse*
 “ will take from them about one half of their an-
 “ nual revenue; and how are they to supply the
 “ deficit?—internal and direct taxes are more
 “ dreaded by their President than all our spoliations
 “ and impressments.—A ‘ sequestration of British
 “ debts, and invasion of Canada!’—that would be
 “ *open war*; and there is no fear of open war, so
 “ long as a British frigate can lay all their sea-ports
 “ under contribution, as ‘ we are told by their own
 “ members of Congress;’—*open war*! when their
 “ own Secretary at War tells us, that some of their
 “ principal sea-ports have scarcely a gun mounted;
 “ and when their Congress declare they won’t give
 “ a farthing to fortify them! *An alliance with*
 “ *France*!—let them talk of *our* captures and im-
 “ pressments; they have not yet felt the *Gallic hug*.
 “ I wish to see them, for a few years, regaled with
 “ the requisitions and contributions, and forced
 “ loans and military enlistments, and *billetings* in
 “ their *dwellings*; they would soon find a French

" alliance stick to them, and blister their backs,
 " like the poisoned garments of Hercules; and, like
 " him, they would writhe and bellow, and invoke
 " all the gods to deliver them from the cursed ap-
 " pendage. They will *cover the seas* with ships of
 " war!—Where will they find them? They have
 " about half a dozen fit for service, and the rest lie
 " rotten and impounded in a mud-puddle at Wash-
 " ington, where, of all places in the world, (150
 " miles up a shoal and crooked river) they have
 " most sagaciously fixed their *navy-yard*!—it will
 " take many years to build others;—and where is
 " the money?—The non-intercourse with us will
 " at once sponge off ONE HALF OF THEIR IMPORT
 " DUTIES.—Will they lay direct and internal taxes
 " to build ships of war, when they talk of leaving
 " their national debt unpaid, their ports unprotect-
 " ed and defenceless, rather than break in upon
 " their system of economy, or put at hazard their
 " popularity by burdensome taxes? No, with
 " *such* an Executive, and *such* a Congress, we
 " have nothing to apprehend. True, they have
 " instructed their Envoy to *demand*, but he is ex-
 " pressly forbid to *insist*; their threats and their
 " *paper* resolutions (very aptly called *foolscap* re-
 " solves) are all, *vox et præterea nihil*."

THE END.